## Pamphlets on the Negro Struggle and the Labor Movement

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Struggle for Negro Equality<br>**by John Saunders and Albert Parker** | 48 pp. | .10 |
| Stop McCarthyism — Your Stake in the Fight | 16 pp. | .10 |
| The Socialist Workers Party — What It Is and What It Stands For<br>**by Joseph Hansen** | 32 pp. | .10 |
| Jim Crow Murder of Mr. & Mrs. Harry T. Moore<br>**by George Breitman** | 32 pp. | .10 |
| The Case of the Legless Veteran<br>**by James Kutcher** | 178 pp. | 1.00 |
| America's Road to Socialism<br>**by James P. Cannon** | 80 pp. | .35 |
| Vigilante Terror in Fontana (limited quantity)<br>**by Myra Tanner Weiss** | 20 pp. | .25 |
| The Road to Peace<br>**by James P. Cannon** | 48 pp. | .25 |
| Negroes in the Postwar World<br>**by Albert Parker** | 16 pp. | .10 |
| Letter to American Negroes<br>**by William E. Bohannon** | 16 pp. | .15 |
| Socialism on Trial<br>**by James P. Cannon** | 112 pp. | .50 |
| Fascism — What It Is — How to Fight It<br>**by Leon Trotsky** | 48 pp. | .15 |
| The Coming American Revolution<br>**by James P. Cannon** | 32 pp. | .10 |
| American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism<br>**by James P. Cannon** | 48 pp. | .15 |
| "Welfare State" or Socialism?<br>**by Art Preis** | 38 pp. | .10 |
| American Workers Need a Labor Party<br>**by Joseph Hansen** | 48 pp. | .15 |

*Order from*

**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**

**116 University Place** **New York 3, N. Y.**

***Complete Catalog Sent On Request***

# RACIAL TERROR AT TRUMBULL PARK, Chicago

**by Howard Mayhew**


Pioneer Publishers

10 cents

*Published by*

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

August 1954

This pamphlet was first published
as a series of articles in THE MILITANT
in July and August 1954

***For other literature and information visit the local headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party at***

Set Up, Printed and Bound by Union Labor
in the United States of America

267

# RACIAL TERROR AT TRUMBULL PARK

This is the story of Trumbull Park, Chicago. It is the story of a fascist drive against the people, to divide the workers, using the weapon of race hate. There are lessons in the Trumbull Park events for all of us, for fascism is not a local thing. The movement is growing all over the United States. Nor is fascism a problem for Negroes alone. It is a problem for every working man and woman, white or black, for fascism is aimed at them.

Every worker knows how time and again the bosses foment race hate to smash strikes and thus lick all the workers. Jim Crow was long used against the packinghouse workers and their unions. Ford used racism to try to prevent unionization of the auto workers. Black and white workers were pitted against each other in the steel strike of 1919. And the racist attacks at Trumbull Park have been coupled with assaults on workers at Wisconsin Steel.

The tie-up between racism and anti-labor attacks is not new. But what makes the situation at Trumbull Park especially dangerous is that it occurs at a time when fascism is growing in America.

It is no accident that the Southeast Economist, the newspaper supporting Jim Crow at Trumbull Park, is also a supporter of the fascist Senator McCarthy. It is no accident that the Daily Calumet favors a lily-white community and praises McCarthy.

Racism and fascism are tendencies that feed each other. The growth of McCarthyism encourages the local racists; the success of local racists strengthens the march of McCarthyism. A national fascist movement makes of racism a national pattern. We have seen the completed picture in Germany. There the traditional attacks on the Jewish minority were greatly intensified under Hitler and extended into an attack against all the people.

That is why Trumbull Park is not just another incident. It is a cancer which will spread unless we stop it.

It is not enough to be willing to fight to stop Jim Crow. It is necessary to know how to fight. This pamphlet tells how.

It is written for all those men and women — Negro and

white — who have it in their heart to fight. This pamphlet is for you.

## THE HOWARDS LOOK FOR A HOME

Donald and Betty Howard wanted a decent place to live, a place with enough room for the whole family. A front yard and a back yard. A place for their two kids to play. They did not want their pictures published in magazines and newspapers and their story told. But that's how things worked out.

The Howards moved into the Trumbull Park federal housing project July 30, 1953. They were the first Negro family there. They had exactly six days of peaceful living. On August 5 an angry mob of screaming people gathered outside their home and stormed the house with bricks and stones, shouting angrily for the "n . . . to get out of here."

Police were immediately detailed to the project. A 24-hour guard was posted at the Howard home. Instead of a dream come true, the Howards found themselves in the middle of a nightmare. Local fascist elements came to life. The Howards lived like prisoners, unable to leave the project without police protection, forced to spend sleepless nights at the window watching for someone who might throw a brick or bomb.

The Howards had not known that they would be the first Negro family to move into Trumbull Park, but once they found out they decided to stay and fight. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People met with city officials and demanded protection for the tenants.

In October 1953, three more Negro families moved into the project. The mobs greeted them in the same fashion as they had the Howards. Police were stationed at the home of every Negro family. The Negro residents were escorted in and out of the project in police paddy wagons. Visitors had to leave their names and addresses with the cops when going in and coming out of the home of a Negro family. Police shanties were erected throughout the project, and an empty apartment was set up as permanent police headquarters. But violence continued.

Encouraged by the fascist successes at Trumbull Park, racists attacked elsewhere in the city. In the West Chesterfield section of Chicago two Negro youngsters, aged 13 and 14, were



brutally beaten with baseball bats by a gang on the school playground. In Rosemoor, a bomb blasted the home of a white family. It was believed that the attack came because four Negroes attended an open house held by the family.

Disgusted and disillusioned, Donald Howard and his family moved from Trumbull Park on May 1. Fourteen Negro families remain, however, determined to stay and win the battle.

On May 6 the NAACP issued an ultimatum to the mayor to take decisive action in the Trumbull Park situation or face a mass protest demonstration at City Hall. The mayor's response has been to praise the work the cops are doing. Very few arrests have been made, and those made, strangely enough, include the victims of the mob.

Local fascist big shots had threatened more violence when the weather broke. The weather has broken. Angry crowds line the streets. Bombs go off nightly. Threats are made by racist terrorists as Negro tenants walk down the street. "We'd better not catch you on this street any more, or we'll hang you from that tree."

## VIOLENCE AT TRUMBULL PARK

Who is behind the mob attacks on Negro families living at Trumbull Park? Is it spontaneous action from the people living in the area? The answer is no! There is substantial evidence that the brutal attacks are well organized. Several local fascist groups are linked to the disturbances.

Peaceful citizens, unwilling to take part in the violence, have been forced into the anti-Negro campaign. The Chicago Daily News reported April 10 that citizens who refuse to "go along" "may find their property afire." A tavern was burned after reports that the building was going to be sold to Negroes. Other taverns were bombed for serving them. A truck driver said, "If I sell any milk to colored families out here . . . I would be beaten."

Playing the dominant role is the South Deering Improvement Association, an organization composed of property owners from the South Deering section of Chicago, in which Trumbull Park is located.

Louis P. Dinnocenzo, president of the Association, described the activities of the SDIA this way:

"We are requesting our aldermen and our representatives to do everything possible to get them out," he said, referring to the Negro families. "We're parading around and milling around at night — within the law, like we're entitled to do — to picket."

A reporter from the Chicago Daily News asked Dinnocenzo, "Doesn't parading tend to incite violence?"

"Yes," Dinnocenzo answered, "Sometimes it does." And later he added, "I hope there's no violence, but these people aren't going to sit home and watch TV."

When Donald Howard, the first Negro to live at Trumbull Park, moved out of the project, Dinnocenzo hailed the Howards' moving as a victory for the "people of South Deering." And he said, "The people haven't begun to fight. When the weather breaks there will be a lot more violence."

Working with the SDIA is the National Citizens Protective Association. NCPA puts out a sheet called the White Sentinel. John W. Hamilton, NCPA president, was once a lieutenant for Gerald L. K. Smith, notorious baiter of Jews and Negroes. SDIA has members in the NCPA, and the NCPA in turn has members in SDIA.

The Daily Calumet, pro-McCarthy newspaper in South Deering, openly supports the fascist groups operating in that area. It gives prominent space to "citizens" committees which urge an end to police protection for Negro tenants. Dinnocenzo and the fascist groups get favorable publicity. Needless to say, nothing is written in Daily Calumet columns defending the rights of Negro Americans to live like other people.

Joseph Beauharnais, founder of the White Circle League, another white supremacy group operating at Trumbull Park, is an old-timer in the race-hate game. A few years ago, he was convicted under the Illinois Group Libel Law as a result of the racist literature his group was distributing. Beauharnais helped pass the hat for contributions at the November NCPA meeting and spoke at an SDIA meeting in November.

In addition, the White Circle League has distributed white supremacy leaflets and sent a challenging telegram to the NAACP. Threatening — and unsigned — postcards received by Trumbull Park Negro families are believed by the NAACP to be White Circle inspired.

These are the groups promoting and backing violence at Trumbull Park. But they are not the only guilty ones.



## THE DEMOCRATIC MAYOR AND THE FORCES OF LAW AND ORDER

Martin Kennelly, mayor of Chicago, is listed in Who's Who. He was a director of the anti-union meat-packing company, Wilson and Co., from 1935 to 1937. From 1937 to 1941 he was chairman of its executive board. Among his other jobs, past and present, are the following: president, Allied Van Lines; president, National Furniture Warehousemen's Association; president, Illinois Furniture Warehousemen's Association; director, Chicago Association of Commerce.

Seven months after violence began at Trumbull Park, and and while bombs were still being set off nightly, the Big Business mayor said, "We have done everything possible to maintain order at Trumbull Park. The police officers are on the job and they are doing a good job."

But Mayor Kennelly's view is not shared by others in the community. The Chicago Sun-Times on February 16 said: "Apparently the police at Trumbull Park . . . were sympathetic to the mob." On May 15 the Chicago edition of the Pittsburgh Courier reported that "blasts against the mayor and the city administration for laxity in law enforcement in Trumbull Park were emphasized in several other quarters this week. . . Doctor Homer Jack, pastor of the Unitarian church of Evanston . . . accused the mayor and his administration of aiding the leaders of the South Deering Association in their conspiracy to intimidate Negroes."

It took the threat of a mass demonstration at City Hall to get the mayor to do even so mild a thing as issue a statement against the violence. And that statement, in the opinion of Mrs. Cora Patton, president of the Chicago branch of the NAACP, was inadequate.

It hasn't been a lack of legal authority either that has kept the Chicago mayor and his police force from stopping the racist terrorism at Trumbull Park. Rather there seems to be a strange reluctance on the part of city officials to use the weapons they have. The Sun-Times pointed out that instead of booking the rioters on the mild charge of disorderly conduct as they have done, the police could invoke the Illinois anti-rioting statutes that provide a $500 fine and prison terms up to five years.

And the Chicago Daily News remarked on May 7 that the police are known to have evidence that the aerial bombs going off nightly at Trumbull Park all come from one manufacturer. Said the News: "It would be an elementary police problem to pursue this question and determine how (the bombs) are distributed in Chicago. That sort of inquiry alone should be enough to supply the state's attorney with evidence that a criminal conspiracy exists."

Few arrests have been made. The cops never seem to be able to see what happened or who did it. But they don't find it hard to "get" something on the victims. Donald Howard was arrested on April 14 on a trumped-up charge of firing a gun over the heads of two white teen-agers who were harassing him. He was searched and no weapon was found on him. On May 23, Negro tenants Herman King and Staddie Edwards were arrested and charged with carrying concealed weapons. They had committed no crime. The search was illegal. Evidently the cops had a weak case, for the trial has been continued.

But what can you expect? Regardless of what the individual cop feels, he *is* hired by the mayor, who is himself a Big Businessman and represents the interests of Big Business in this city. And the cop must go along.

One of the Negro residents in Trumbull Park has summed it up nicely: "There are just two requirements to be a cop in Trumbull Park. You have to be deaf and blind."

## LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE

The NAACP has held conferences with the mayor to try to get him to stop the violence at Trumbull Park. It has gone to the courts. It has published statements in the press calling for investigations. The Packinghouse Workers Union, CIO, at its convention in May called for a city-wide meeting of labor groups. Charles Hayes, district director of the packinghouse union, offered his organization's "physical and moral support" to the families at Trumbull Park. Workers in the unions contributed funds. But resolutions, conferences and statements were not enough. Violence grows.

In local unions throughout the city, in meetings of the



NAACP, working people are demanding that they be called into action. Sentiment has developed for a mass protest demonstration. But the leaders hesitate to call on the people to act. Why? Why do they hesitate at this point? Because of their ties to City Hall.

Success at Trumbull Park requires a break with do-nothing city officials. But the leaders do not want to break. Why should they? Their policy pays off, doesn't it? Because they cooperate with the politicians in power, a William Dawson gets to sit in Congress, and an Edith Sampson is picked to go to the United Nations. And a union official can become a big shot and tour the nation's steel mills with the president of U.S. Steel, or he can be appointed to some government committee and get a trip to Europe.

By collaborating with the Democratic mayor and avoiding conflict with the Democratic Party, which makes many promises and few concessions to the Negro and labor movements, they expect to get at least one or two pay-offs. And so things are not so bad — for a few of them. And that is why they feel closer to their "friend" the mayor and his kind than to their own people.

It is time for Negro and white workers to say to their leaders: "Eleven months we have stood hat in hand at City Hall, politely waiting for the do-nothing mayor. There has been enough of talk. Let's march together, thousands strong, on City Hall. Show the mayor we mean business — unions, NAACP, all together. This is the action needed now. Your 'friends' at City Hall are standing in our way. Break with City Hall!"

As for the Communist Party, which pretends to be a people's party, it too stands waiting for the mayor. The Communist Party line these days is to support "friends" in the Democratic Party, the same line that is being followed by the trade union and NAACP officials.

When rank and file members of the NAACP urged a mass demonstration to show the mayor how the people feel about Trumbull Park, one edition of the Illinois Worker supported the demonstration. It was a good idea. One week later, after the Illinois Worker found out that the union and the NAACP officials were against it, the line changed! Instead of action by the people, the Illinois Worker called for federal intervention. The Communist Party, looking for an alliance with the Democrats, top trade union brass and NAACP officials, talks against Jim Crow but does not support a program of mass action to stop the violence at Trumbull Park.

## THE SWP PROGRAM FOR TRUMBULL PARK

From the beginning of the fight at Trumbull Park, the Socialist Workers Party has called for action by the people to stop the anti-Negro terrorism. From the beginning, the Militant has exposed the fascists and rallied support for the Negro tenants in Trumbull Park.

The Socialist Workers Party knows the fascist attack can be stopped at Trumbull Park. Not by depending on the bosses' representatives in City Hall — but by depending on the workers.

Conferences with the mayor are O.K. Investigations are O.K. But when, after 11 months of investigation, all the mayor can say in the face of continued violence is, "The police . . . are doing a good job," then the time has come for something more. The time has come for the unions and the NAACP to organize a mass protest demonstration.

Just as a strike shows the boss what the workers want, so a demonstration will show the mayor what the people want. The demonstration will show the mayor that the people think he's falling down on the job. *It will remind him that he can be replaced.*

Thousands of people can be mobilized at City Hall by the NAACP and the unions. The streets can be filled with people. The mayor will understand.

The demonstration will show the fascists something, too. It will show them that the people of Chicago are organized against them. Fascists are cowards. They have threatened more violence, but when they see the majority organized against them, they will be forced back into their holes.

We want to be sure that the mayor's promises will be kept. We want to be sure the law is carried out.

Every local union, every tenants' group, every NAACP branch should elect delegates to a city-wide Congress of Labor, called by the NAACP and the unions. And this Congress of Labor could constitute a permanent defense committee.

This committee will be our organization, to which we bring our grievances. It will keep the mayor's promises for him. Right now, where can a victim of police brutality go? To another cop? With the permanent defense committee, he comes to a group made up of workers — a committee set up to see that a worker is protected as he has a right to be — a committee to which he elected a representative.



And the Congress of Labor could set up an anti-Jim Crow flying squadron of 1,000. This flying squadron will be on call at all times to go to Trumbull Park, or any other place, to see that peace is maintained. What Big Business Kennelly's cops can't do, a workers' anti-Jim Crow flying squadron will do. The civil rights of American citizens will be protected.

Here is a program for Trumbull Park that will work. And you can help put it across. Get your union to pass a resolution favoring the program. Urge your church to support it. Speak for it in your tenants' group. The united strength of all these organizations can win at Trumbull Park.

For a demonstration of workers' strength! For a Congress of Labor, with elected delegates from every local union and NAACP branch! For a permanent defense committee! For an anti-Jim Crow flying squadron of 1,000! The fascists will be stopped in the city of Chicago!

## WHY THERE IS JIM CROW

Trumbull Park, Cicero, Harlem, Detroit, Fontana — the pattern is always the same. All the branches of government — the cops, the politicians and the courts — line up against the people. Why is this? The answer is simple. Big Business makes money out of Jim Crow, out of Jim Crow ghettos, out of pitting white against black. Every worker knows how race hate is used to divide the workers in the shop, to weaken the union. It's an old stunt — but it works.

Blood money is coined out of Jim Crow housing. As the landlord cuts up apartments and turns buildings into slums, rents go up. The segregation pattern means space is at a premium, and the landlord gets rich.

For example, in Chicago an average of 27,000 people live in a square mile, but in the southside Negro area there are 55,000 people per square mile — double the city average! The landlord demands the rent he wants. Apartments are hard to get.

The picture is the same in all major cities. In Seattle the Negro population increased 69% from 1940 to 1950. In Detroit and Buffalo it increased over 100%. In Chicago it nearly doubled.

But has housing kept up with the growing population? No, it has not. Every ghetto dweller knows what this means. An investigation into a fire that killed 18 people in a Chicago slum tenement revealed that death traps are the rule and not the exception. In one building, the coroner noted that partitions on the first floor of the building were of cardboard material, and remarked, "They'd burn like tinder if a fire got started." The place was even more dangerous than the building where the 18 people were burned to death. And, said the coroner, "The total rent is $2,330 a year — more than the whole shebang is worth."

This is not unusual. Rents in these firetraps are often $100 or more per month.

Three-quarters of the rooms and apartments in the area have no bath, no water, or are falling apart. Three quarters of the buildings were built before 1920 and most of them in the 1800's.

In contrast is an area on the west side of town, Forest Glen. Here only 1% of the dwelling units have no bath, no water, or are falling apart. Here only 4.2% of the buildings were built before 1920. Construction continues in Forest Glen. On the near southside, construction almost stands still, and existing buildings are being demolished.

If Negroes could move to an area like Forest Glen, the slums would soon be empty and rents would fall. That is why landlords have a stake in maintaining prejudice, in keeping Jim Crow.

The landlord and real-estate baron make heavy profits in the slum tenements. They want to keep the Negro in the ghetto — where upkeep is low and rents are high.

The race pattern of the South is also Big Business inspired. A substantial part of Southern industry is actually owned by Northern business interests. So long as Big Business owns the mayors, the courts and the cops, the government will support Jim Crow.

And no one should be fooled by the Supreme Court decision against segregation in the public schools. The Big Businessmen who control the government haven't suddenly gotten kind-hearted. They haven't lost their need for Jim Crow. The Supreme



Court decision was not given to the Negro people out of the goodness of the judges' hearts. It was a decision long overdue, and gotten only as a result of the pressure of the Negro people in this country and of their allies and sympathizers — the colored people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world whose hatred of Jim Crow is so well known.

Pressure, organization, struggle — those are the things that changed the Supreme Court's mind about school segregation. More pressure, more organization, more struggle — those are the only things that can guarantee the enforcement of the anti-segregation decision in the schools. And they are the same things needed to put a stop to racial terrorism at Trumbull Park.

## TO END JIM CROW

It is not enough to fight a Trumbull Park here and there. Jim Crow must be ripped out by the roots. Capitalism, the breeder of Jim Crow, must go, if Jim Crow is to end.

And capitalism will go! Workers — despite their prejudices — will fight side by side.

Capitalism breeds many evils besides Jim Crow, and everyone who works for a living gets hit one way or another more than once — wars, depressions, layoffs, insecurity. When the white worker decides to get rid of wars and depressions, he will turn to the Negro for help. Without the Negro, the white worker cannot solve his own problems.

Thus in spite of prejudice — because they need each other and because they have a common enemy — Negro and white will unite to solve their common problems.

When the workers get rid of capitalism, breeder of wars and depressions, they will have gotten rid of capitalism, breeder of Jim Crow.

When the workers organize a socialist society, they will take over the factories and the government and run them in the interests of the vast majority, instead of in the interests of the few. There will be no need of Jim Crow for, as we have seen, Big Business and its allies keep Jim Crow alive because they profit from it.

Under socialism, where the factories produce what people need instead of what makes profits for a few, there will be enough for everyone, and no one will need to fight his brother.

## HOW WE CAN WIN!

You have read the story of Trumbull Park. You have seen that capitalist politicians have actually aided the racists.

To win at Trumbull Park requires a break with the Democratic and Republican parties — the parties of Big Business and big landlords. For years the unions and the NAACP have followed a "lesser evil" policy. They think that deals can be made with Democrats or Republican politicians to win concessions for the people. Events at Trumbull Park prove them wrong.

When racist mobs attacked the home of a Negro family at Trumbull Park, what did the Democratic mayor do? What did the Democratic City Council do? What did a Democratic party machine, with Democratic precinct captains in every neighborhood including Trumbull Park, do? The answer is nothing.

The union leaders and the leaders of the NAACP do not feel free to mobilize a mass action against the Democratic mayor and his Democratic Party. How can they point out that the mayor is an enemy of the people and then ask the people to vote for this same bunch in November?

So long as the union leaders, the NAACP and the Communist Party have an alliance with a party of the landlords and Big Businessmen, they cannot carry on a militant struggle at Trumbull Park. They cannot carry on an effective struggle against Jim Crow anywhere so long as they support the party of those who benefit from Jim Crow, so long as they support the capitalist system, breeder of race hate.

The Socialist Workers Party is a party based on the workers, farmers and Negro people. It has no ties to any boss. It says openly that it is opposed to the capitalist system, the bosses' system.

The Socialist Workers Party supports the right of Negroes to live at Trumbull Park. It urges independent action by the



people themselves through their own — not the bosses' — organizations. It urges the formation of a Labor Party, based on the workers, the farmers, the minority organizations. Such a party would be free to act in the people's interests.

No confidence in the bosses! No confidence in the bosses' parties! Confidence in a workers' demonstration! Confidence in a workers' defense committee!

The Socialist Workers Party fights side by side with the workers in their everyday struggle as it has done in Trumbull Park. It explains how to fight. It knows that action without a program, action without understanding, is bound to fail. Workers must know who are their friends and who are their enemies. They must know what ways of fighting will work.

The first step for every worker is to be willing to fight. The second step is to learn how. In the Socialist Workers Party Negro and white learn how to be effective working class leaders.

Each November, all over the country, the Socialist Workers Party runs election campaigns. The party's aim is to explain its program, to win support for its principles, to show more men and women how to fight effectively against fascism, war, unemployment and racial terrorism.

You will want to support our election campaign. You will want to join with us. You will want to help build the socialist society where the Trumbull Parks and the Ciceros will be things to read about in ancient history books — and where the brotherhood of man will be a living thing.


***Read the truth about the Negro struggle in***

**THE MILITANT**

**A Weekly Newspaper Published in the Interests of the Working People**

**116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.**

Please enter my subscription as follows:

**$1.50 for 6 months of The Militant**

**$3.00 for 1 year of The Militant**

**Name** .....

**Street** .....

**City** ..... **Zone** .....

**State** .....